

RIGHT AND WRONG
—
IN THE
ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES.

— by the *soul*
Only, the nations shall be great and free!
Wordsworth.

Boston:
PUBLISHED AT THE A. S. OFFICE,
25 CORNHILL.
1840.



W. S. Dorr, Printer.

RESOLUTIONS

Of the Boston Female A. S. Society.

Resolved, That, in view of the mis-statements circulated by Martha V. Ball, respecting the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, a copy of the documents of the Society this year issued be transmitted to all its correspondents in England and elsewhere.

Resolved, That we commend the cause of the slave to the consciences of *all*; reminding them of the divine assurance, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

Resolved, That we warmly appreciate the devoted services of our dear friend, ABBY KELLEY, to the cause of the slave.

Resolved, That, in making this public expression, we do it, not for her sake,—for we know that a private expression would be more grateful to her feelings,—but because we deem it a duty to be identified with all who are persecuted for the cause's sake.

Resolved, That we hereby assure our members, Ann T. G. Phillips, Abby Southwick, and Emily Winslow, who were present at the London Convention, and who were refused admission to its sittings, that their course in declining to withdraw their claim commands our hearty approval and respect

Resolved, That William Lloyd Garrison, N. P. Rogers, Charles Lenox Remond, and William Adams, have, in our judgment, most effectually aided the cause of the slave, by their refusal, when in London, "to lower a great principle in deference to a barbarous usage."

Resolved, That we shall despair of the success of the cause from the moment we see its advocates shrink from making innovations on usages which circumscribe their ability to serve it.

Resolved, That expressions of our gratitude be transmitted to our friends in England, who have cheered our past efforts with their sympathy and liberal aid, from our formation as a society to the present time.

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to Elizabeth Pease, of Darlington, Anne Cropper, of Liverpool, Harriet Martineau, Anne Knight, of Chelmsford, Jane Smeal, of Glasgow, Amelia Opie, and George Thompson, and to the societies with which we are in correspondence.

SEVENTH

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BOSTON FEMALE

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

PRESENTED OCTOBER 14, 1840.

Boston:
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY,
25 CORNHILL.
1840.

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CAROLINE WESTON,
MARY F. WILLEY.

REPORT.

Seven years have passed, since we became united under the name of the BOSTON FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, with the pledge to do all in our power for the extinction of slavery.

Our first year of association was marked by no event of peculiar interest. The oppressive spirit of the nation had not then been roused by anti-slavery effort, to a view of its danger ; nor had we, as an association, attained a clear perception of the means whereby we might most effectually bring our moral power to bear against slavery.

But the second year was marked by a clearer comprehension, and by decided success in breaking up the stupor that surrounded us. It was the year 1835 ;—remembered in our annals as the year of blind fury and outward attack ; the year which showed those who had ever before declared that they were as much abolitionists as we, what manner of spirit they were of ; making them feel that they were in sympathy with the oppressor, and enemies of the slave.

The third year of our existence began to show that the hardness of heart of the community would, if it continued, endanger the social institutions

which it weakened and corrupted by perverting them to the service of slavery. "What are church and state for," men began this year to ask themselves, "if not to secure, among other blessings, FREEDOM, without which no others can exist? But, if their rafters are so weakened by this unsuspected decay, will they not fall under the hammer?" These questions were never followed out in anti-slavery societies; for, to have discussed reform in church and state, any farther than their corruptions prevent the abolition of slavery, would have been to transcend the constitutional limitations of anti-slavery societies.— But these questions were none the less asked in the community, and the tyrants at heart, who were determined in their support of the system, and who had made church and state the pillars of its domination, caught here at a pretence by which they hoped to delay the national verdict, by making up a false issue. They cried out that church and state were in danger from the attacks of abolitionists. Doubtless their words were in part true. Church and state *are* in danger; but not from the labors of the anti-slavery societies. If church and state are saved from destruction in the coming contest between liberty and slavery, it will be owing to the efforts of those who are striving to remove them from their present dangerous position, where the hosts of liberty must needs charge over them.

The most observant and educated of the pro-slavery party,—their clergy,—were the first to perceive, that a church at variance with the principles it professes cannot stand ; and the exertions which, as ministers of Christ, they should have given to purify the church from slavery, were expended in diverting the public mind from the examination of its rottenness, and directing public censure against the advocates of the cause. When made aware that the church obstinately sustained slavery, they should have declared her no church of Christ. But, in so doing, they would have acknowledged the guilty silence of their own past lives ; and this they had not the hearts to do, for their hearts were not repentant. They strove, instead, to extinguish the spirit of freedom.

By the fourth year, 1837, this course of so influential a body of men as the ministry partially produced its intended effect in the anti-slavery ranks. Spiritual wickedness in high places triumphed over the integrity and resolution of some who had undertaken the task of freeing the American slave. They had not anticipated the source from which the most formidable opposition was to come, and they shrunk from the contest. The peltings of a mob they could bear. *Such* opposition does but strengthen the merely human powers of endurance. But the *spiritual* mob—the scourgings in the *synagogues*—the being deliver-

ed up of men to their *councils*,—this, being unexpected, was too hard to be borne. Their worldly reputation they had seemed more willing to lose ; but they clung to their Christian character, though its preservation depended on the good word of those whose approbation they ought to have felt as a reproach ; who had put darkness for light and slavery for freedom. The church, pro-slavery as it had shown itself, was, in fact, *their world* ; and they yielded up the interests of the slave to its demands. But, the reproach they avoided on one side, they incurred on the other ; and to excuse themselves for finally taking their stand by the side of the pro-slavery friends, whose influence they had so long resisted, they became the accusers, before the world, of the faithful band they forsook, renounced its fellowship, and formed hostile societies for its destruction.

During the fifth and sixth years of our associated existence, 1838 and '39, this retrograde movement of a small portion of the abolitionists throughout the land went on, till its completion, by a general rupture, in 1840. Every step of retreat, of course, augmented the numbers of the retreating party, by bringing them back to their former connections ; and when they shall have reached the spot from which they started, they will, of course, have the whole pro-slavery world with them.

In our own society, this backward movement of a part, so painful in its progress and so par-

alyzing in its effects, was about three years in coming to the crisis of separation ; and the manner in which that separation was effected was detailed by us immediately after it took place, in April last, and to it we refer our absent and distant members, for whose information it was prepared.

A dissolution of all the original anti-slavery societies seems to have been contemplated by those who had fallen away from the original point of union ; but our own was the only society to which the proposition was actually introduced. The men who urged up our recreant members to this attempt to destroy the society of which they had found it impracticable to make a tool, were unable to furnish them with reasons for its introduction ; for none, in fact, existed. Reasons that seemed all-sufficient in the hostile new organization, could not, for very shame, be presented in an assembly where they would be self-confuted. It will be recollected, by those who were present at our April quarterly meeting, how earnestly and how vainly the movers of a dissolution were urged to say why such a proposition should be brought forward. They answered nothing. Had they answered truly, they would have said, " Our pastors will take no less." It will be recollected what numbers refused to vote on that question, not allowing it to be one which it is competent to any majority to decide ; since, as long as two

members remain planted on the constitution, they will still constitute the society, and all protestations of others to the contrary must be as ineffectual as the wind, or as the declaration of the mob to the same effect in 1835. This attempt of professed friends of the cause to deliver it bound hand and foot into the hands of its enemies, while it is the most painful, is, in another light, the most instructive and the most consoling of our experiences ; for we learn from it the utter powerlessness of the most subtil and pernicious influences, with the most unscrupulous use of evil means, to divide or scatter the hearts that the love of freedom unites ; and our confidence in our principles is increased by this new manifestation of their power. The few members who were actively engaged in endeavors to destroy the society, declared that they were neutral between " old and new organization." But the following communication exhibits the turpitude of one of them.

M. V. Ball to Elizabeth Pease.

" Boston, May 6, 1840.

You will perceive, dear sister, by the foregoing *address*, that the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society has been DISSOLVED, and another formed in its place. Our no-government friends, being resolved to carry their *peculiar* views along with them IN THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAR, became so annoying in their movements, that it was found impracticable to continue united with them ; and the consequence has been, in our Female Society, *dissolution*—and I fear it will be in many others. The *no-government* friends consid-

er *human government* as the great Juggernaut to be overthrown, ere ought else can be accomplished ; consequently they must have their notions advanced as *part* and *parcel* of their abolition.

A *very large majority* of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society thought *not so*, and therefore did not dare take the responsibility of thus pulling away the barriers to vice and immorality. With this I send you the *Massachusetts Abolitionist*, containing the minutes of the *last meeting* of the Society, and another, noticing the formation of the Massachusetts Female Emancipation Society. We find it very important to keep our societies clear and distinct, lest they become perverted from their original objects

It is matter of the deepest regret to our most *efficient, laborious* friends, such as Lewis and John Tappan, Scott, Green, Goodell, Birney, Whittier, Stanton, Phelps, Colver, Galusha, Gerrit Smith and others, that our no-government friends have taken the fearful responsibility of causing division in our ranks ; but we hope it may be over-ruled for good, knowing that it must have been permitted for some wise end."

On the reception of this, Miss Pease transmitted a copy of it to America, with the following comments :

"MY DEAR FRIEND :—I forward the enclosed letter from M. V. Ball, in the hope that thou wilt be kind enough to explain upon what grounds our non-resistant friends deem it their duty so far to enforce their doctrines as to make them part and parcel of their abolition. It appears to me that no man or set of men have the right of exercising such an authority over the consciences of others ; and that if the case really be as M. V. Ball states, a dissolution of the society was inevitable—inasmuch as the assent of every member became equally requisite to the principle of non-

resistance, as to that of immediate emancipation; and hence it must follow, that all who now adhere to the old society are united in principle on both these questions—a fact which I certainly was not aware of. I am anxious to ascertain the precise nature and grounds of the unhappy divisions which have arisen amongst American abolitionists, and to give to each their due. Any explanation, therefore, which thou canst afford, will be very acceptable.

Most sincerely wishing success to the efforts of every friend of human freedom, I remain

Very truly thine,

ELIZABETH PEASE.

In the Mass. Abolitionist of Dec. 12th, 1839, I see the non-resistants are charged with '*resisting* the progress of anti-slavery opinion with all their might.' "

In refutation of these charges against the Boston Female Society, now for the first time brought to its view in a tangible shape,—for the first time made in its presence, over the signature or by the lips of any individual,—which the individual who brings them *never dared to make* in our presence as a society, so glaringly false are they ;—in refutation of these charges, we have only to refer that individual to what took place on the presentation to the society, for its sanction, of a document written by herself. It contained a censure of Lovejoy's self-defence. This censure, on motion of one of our few non-resistant members, was stricken out, on the ground that, though pledged by our affiliation and co-operation with other anti-slavery societies never to sanction self-defence in the slaves, no such understanding ex-

ists with regard to the self-defence of any others. We are an anti-slavery society—not a non-resistance society. In conformity with this view, the society refused to adopt the censure of Lovejoy ; and in conformity with this view, the non-resistance members opposed the introduction of non-resistance resolutions, when they were recommended in private by the Grimkés.

On the petty but necessary conflict with falsehood and hostility, of which this is a specimen, there is no need that we should dwell. It will be found at length in the “*Liberator, Extra,*” published by the society.

By conduct like this, which circumstances from time to time bring to light, “new organization” illustrates its nature. Its object is to separate itself from those whose faithfulness has made them odious to a pro-slavery community, without incurring the disgrace that cleaves to the turncoat.

Having, by means of firmness, patience and confidence in its principles, been freed from this clog of “new-organization,” our society was in a position to afford effectual aid to the friends of the cause throughout the country, who were struggling with the same untoward spirit. Wherever this spirit sought entrance, it assumed the name and shape most likely to facilitate its claim to confidence. In one place, it was anti-non-resistance—in another, anti-woman’s rights—in ano-

ther, anti-Garrison. In one place it made a pretence of regard for the church, and in another, of an independent abolition party in politics.* Not finding the pretence of religious intolerance, with which it had commenced its operations, attractive to the abolitionists, or on the whole successful in a community of which religious toleration is the law, it took the mask of political intolerance. To buttress its failing credit, it revived the political faith of a departed age—the dogma of “divine right.” Government being ordained of God, it was every man’s duty to vote at the polls,—both parties being corrupted by slavery, it was every man’s duty to aid in organizing a *third*,—and every man’s duty to vote for the candidate of its nomination. James G. Birney was particularly active in the enforcement of these new ideas. He was the nominee of the third political party; and though, like Cæsar on the Lupercal, he at first refused the questionable honor of a nomination as the abolition candidate for the Presidency, by conventions from which the abolitionists mostly absented themselves to mark their disapproval of the measure, yet it was perceptible, that in refusing the crown, he “was very loth to lay his fingers off it.” He accepted the se-

* See Letter of Elizur Wright, jr. to Mr. Stanton, on the occasion of the special meeting of the American Society in Ohio, urging the formation of a third party as the only measure that could save “new organization.”

cond proffer, the party was organized, and from that moment the increase of numbers to it, as a visible instrumentality, became, of course, its paramount object.

Its numbers were not increased by those of the faithful brothers in the cause, who had been made aware by his underhand course, of his loss of integrity of character. Not the non-voters alone shunned it. Those who had been shocked by his duplicity as a member of the Executive Committee of their National Association, exhibited to the Massachusetts quarterly meeting of 1839, and who had seen, on other occasions, the fatal facility with which he yielded to the uses of proslavery bigotry, held themselves aloof. Filled with grief and shame, as they were, at the descent manifestly contemplated in the character of the cause, by this change in some of its prominent advocates, from piety to partizanship, still farther pain and confusion were heaped upon them.— Even while they mourned Mr. Birney's first dereliction, they were surprised by the greatness of the succeeding ones, and the ease with which they seemed to be effected ; verifying the ancient adage, "*facilis decesus Averni.*" He yielded up old and faithful friends, apparently, without hesitation, and followed up the deed by showing himself ready to destroy the American Anti-Slavery Society—that instrumentality which had been reared by so many years of toil and sacrifice on

the part of the abolitionists, and which had been, till held back by his own influence, with that of the majority of his fellow-servants of its committee, a powerful means of influencing the hearts of the people. If viewed in one light, it seems like fatuity, in the projectors of a third political party, to have named as candidate for the suffrages of abolitionists a man who had failed to secure their confidence as one of the official servants of their society. He had shown them the meaning of the scripture, "By the works of the *law*, shall no flesh living be justified;" for he had freed his own slaves, and received his patrimonial inheritance also in slaves, that he might liberate them, and yet could trample on the very principle by which only can slavery be extinguished—the principle of toleration and united exertion. It may be safely assumed, for it has been a thousand times demonstrated, that he can do little for civil or domestic freedom, who does not respect the right of opinion. Mr. Birney had been honest to his bondmen, but he was untrue to freedom at large, and to his fellow-laborers for the termination of bondage. But, then, in the other view of the case, this very untruth would free the party of a load of odium, and secure more of the indifferent, floating voters, than it would lose of the abolition voters. Suicidal policy of political parties!—by which a moral enterprise never can succeed.

Meanwhile, Mr. Birney, with the committee at New-York, were expending the property of the society in labors to change, or, failing in this, to destroy it; and after using the *Emancipator*, its official organ, for this purpose, to the latest possible moment, they transferred it to a hostile society. In this emergency, the indignant grief of the abolitionists, in behalf of their enslaved clients, impelled them in throngs to the annual meeting in May last, for the purpose of superseding the committee of that period by a more faithful one, and rescuing the anti-slavery movement from ruin, by opening a way for it through the obstacles with which these timid and treacherous guides had choked up the path. The Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, deeply impressed with the importance of the moment, expressed its distrust of the New-York committee—its unwavering confidence in the association at large—and appointed ten delegates to the rescue at the annual meeting. The danger of the crisis was happily averted. On finding that they should not be able to mould the American Anti-Slavery Society as they had themselves been moulded, the committee separated from it in disgust, and turned their forces against it, under the name of the “American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.” They commenced their hostilities by an address to the abolitionists of the world; which tissue of false statements met with an instant de-

nial and disproof; but which Mr. Birney still further lowered his character by displaying before the London Convention.

Without funds, without official means of communication with the friends scattered throughout the country, hemmed round by enemies,—and those worst of enemies, false and pretended friends,—the free spirit shone gloriously out, and proved itself equal to the emergency. The old head-quarters of the American Anti-Slavery Society, which the faithless committee had stripped bare and deserted, previous to the annual meeting, were re-occupied. The loss occasioned by the dishonest transfer of the Emancipator was more than made good by the issue of a most able and free-spirited paper—THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD. Towards the support of these operations we were grateful for the privilege of contributing in our small measure. At short notice, and in addition to the obligations we had assumed to the Liberator, and to the expenses incurred in prolonging our existence as a society for the slave's sake, we raised five hundred dollars, to sustain the National Society in affiliation with the State Society.

“Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!” is our exclamation, as we witness the harmonious action of the several departments of the cause, since the new organization spirit has taken flight.

And now, let us turn our eyes from the painful past to the hopeful future. Or, if we dwell upon the past, let it not be with too deep and indignant a sorrow over the falsehood that has deceived, and the treachery that has betrayed the principles of freedom, to whose maintenance in our day and generation we have bound ourselves. Let our remembrances be to us, not idle and random recollections, but profitable experiences, by whose light we may illuminate the future, but which shall not be a spell, hindering our progress by binding us to the past.

What jurists and statesmen learn by thought and study and investigation, (if their passions permit them to learn it at all,) the providence of God has revealed to us ; that effectual revolutions in the policy and conduct of nations, such as we contemplate in our own, are only to be effected by a previous moral revolution in individual hearts. Selfishness is to be overcome, courage and devotedness to be implanted ; and, in fine, a work, analogous to that of conversion, is to be effected in each hostile soul of a world lying in wickedness, before it will consent to let the slave go free. We see the futility—the impossibility—the paradox of the attempt to *force* men to be free, or just, or merciful. Elections may, by political maneuvers and compromises, be secured ; majorities in legislative assemblies may be obtained ; the cause of freedom may be considered

triumphant in the elevation of a nominal abolitionist to the Presidency ; and still the real work remain for future generations to accomplish. Let these considerations make us distrustful of every measure tending to lower the anti-slavery enterprise from a holy warfare into a struggle for place and power. Let the example of our fathers,—those fathers who proclaimed the inalienable rights of men, and yet left slavery as a heritage to their children,—warn us never to admit the smallest compromise,—never to be deceived into accepting any thing for our cause as matter of favor, or as binding us to relinquish a hair's-breadth of our claim to the unreserved and earnest efforts of every professing friend of freedom, to obtain for the slave immediate and unconditional emancipation.

The anti-slavery societies have not yet done their work. When, in the heat of political excitement, amid which the *favorers* of the cause will a few years hence be engaged ; when, in the conflict of a northern and southern party, yet to spring out of this question, *compensation—partial emancipation—intermediate arrangements—delay*—become the rallying words of the opposition ; then let the slave rejoice, if the anti-slavery societies exist, to urge up to the mark a partially regenerated people, who, though the *favorers* of the cause, will not deserve to be called its friends ; for they will need constant and persevering en-

treaty, rebuke and warning, to prevent their making shipwreck of the enterprise. Not by numbers, but by laborious and energetic fidelity, will the work be wrought out. "Not by might, nor by power, but by MY SPIRIT, saith the Lord of hosts!"

Let us prepare ourselves, beloved friends, to maintain our lofty and influential position to the last. Great is the influence granted to those who will use it for the good of mankind, nor seek *themselves*, or their own small interests, in any thing they do. Utter abnegation of self,—this is the armor in which we may pass unheeding through the shafts of malignant misrepresentation and opposition and treachery; and still, at every emergency, may we be enabled by it to present ourselves as the devoted, marking, by our unheralded advance, the path the hosts behind us are to follow.

We shall lose our *influence*, we are told, by the decisive and rapid movements that repel the false-hearted and leave the fearful and the lukewarm in the rear. Influence! is that uninfluencing weapon worthy the name, that rests in the scabbard in fear of its brightness! To respect every one's freedom of choice we are bound. If others are hesitating and dilatory, we have only to suffer it to be so. But, well is it for the cause, that *w_e* should press rapidly onward, breaking down the obstacles to their wavering advance.

But, we should not be too prodigal of efforts, it is said ; we must play the good housewife by our means. Our experience bids reject the counsel, as inapplicable to the conduct of a moral enterprise. The manna of to-day will be corrupt or dry to-morrow. It is our privilege, and should be our joy, to pour out all our means to meet the present emergency.

“ If, in our daily course, our mind
Be set to *hallow* all we find,
New treasures still, of countless price,
God will provide for sacrifice.”

Do not lose sight of the world by the severe pureness of your principles, say they who would make selfishness the basis of reform ; as if the world could choose how far it might remain behind its advanced-guard ! At whatever distance in our rear, its advance must needs be proportionate to our own. The way to emancipation is open before us, if we have the strength to walk and to run in it as in the way of God’s commandment. The world, it is true, is never with us—it is following at a distance, as we vanquish the phantoms it apprehends. But we are not alone. The Father of all spirits is with us ! the God of all patience and consolation is with us ! the God of freedom and love is with us ! the omnipotent God of righteousness and truth is with us !

In following him, all opposing influences melt

away as we approach. Like the visionary hedge of thorns of Arabian story, they are found incapable of annoyance, opposed to the invincible faith which strengthens us to press through them. Like those of old, told of in prophecy, we are in the midst of the fire, and are not burned. That we are few, and feeble, except in our faith, is no fault of ours, nor will it be a detriment to the cause we hold so dear. This is the divine philosophy, that "the weak things of the earth shall confound the mighty," and the things which are not even accounted as existing "shall put to shame the things that are."

How many a time have nations been saved by their women, when every other hope seemed extinct ; and so may it be with America, if we will have it so. There is moral power enough in presence here to-day, affirmatively to settle the question we have raised. This is a sinful nation, that has deeply offended ; yet that law is an unvarying one of God's providence, by which he will save each of its populous cities, "for ten's sake ;" and who's here so cold of soul that would not be enrolled with joy in so noble a registry !

As the counsellors of our parents and the helpers of our husbands, a mighty work is to be done, and in general society an influence for freedom and humanity will ever radiate from the lover of freedom. But we have duties of our own to fulfil towards our country and race ; and it is as the

exemplars of our sons and daughters that our weightiest work is to be done. *They* must see our direct, unshrinking and unswerving personal labors in the way of righteousness; and they must not learn from us that there is any *second* way, however indolence, or frivolity, or fear of blame, offer their temptations. Our efforts must be strenuous and open for the promulgation of the principles of freedom, on which rest the welfare of our country and our posterity. We are working for all coming time, and the thought cheers and strengthens us for continually renewed labors. We have had progenitors who have labored for us, and we must repay the debt to those who shall come after us. One generation of them left its father-land for religious freedom; another gave up the summer of its years for civil liberty; and grateful though we are to have been born of that noble strain, our heaviest labor should not be to build our fathers' sepulchres. It is for us to finish the work they left undone, so that our children shall rise up and call us blessed. It lies mainly with us to determine whether our children, or at farthest our children's children, shall dwell in the land we leave them in freedom and in peace, surrounded by happy and joyous influences; or whether their lives shall pass in convulsive struggles with an injured race, awakened to a sense of wrong and thirst of vengeance, by a comparison of republican theory with republican

practice. Fearlessly and earnestly we say to such as forbid us to cast our whole souls, with all their energies, into this cause, and by whose unworthy opposition we might have been sore let and hindered, had our love for it been less,—gently and firmly we tell them, that their opposition comes too late. It is necessary for the success of the anti-slavery enterprise, that the hands should be *free* that urge it onward ; and the hands from which the fetters have fallen, in the intensity of their exertions for the freedom of others, can never again be bound. Threatenings and entreaties and abuse must be alike in vain, before a conscientious conviction of duty. The appeals of some *professed* abolitionists, to the *magnanimity* of women, are the most insulting to human nature of all. We do really think that we can aid it more than such ; and therefore, if they or ourselves are to “ weep in secret places,” we do really think that the cause will lose least by *their* retreat. Had it been personal rights or wrongs that impelled us—had it been any thing but love of the cause of human rights, we might had withdrawn from the association where we have so long acceptably labored, on the first intimation that our absence as co-laborers was desirable.—Were it our own will we sought,

“ We would not die in that man’s company
Who fears his fellowship to die with us.”

But we dare not, even were the transfer possible,

to leave our responsibilities to the cause in despotic and intolerant hands. If we love the cause, we are bound to labor for it according to our own best judgment. The very pro-slavery community perceives the fact, and laughs at the men whom it has deluded into rejecting the help of any human being, and suspects the sincerity of their pretended love of freedom. Of all the means of abolishing slavery, perhaps the most effectual is the irrepressible sympathy for the wronged and suffering, that swells high above the usages that would dam up its current ; that signs anti-slavery petitions to the legislature against old usages ; that dwells in conversation upon the hitherto interdicted subject against old usages ; that prays and labors for its extinction against old usages ; that rejoices to present it for consideration to assembled multitudes against old usages !

No means have ever been employed in the cause, which have not been forbidden by some defender of antiquated custom ; not an advocate for the slave but has been in turn proscribed by the defenders of despotism. The foreigner must not intermeddle ; the northerner must not interfere ; the young are too rash, and the old too imbecile ; to the minister, the subject is interdicted as profane and secular ; to the church member, as introducing strife and division ; to the citizen, as seditious ; to man, because it is too delicate ; and to woman, because it is too indelicate. But

none of these things should move the advocate for emancipation. None of them have moved us, since we overcame the reluctant pain of accosting the hostile circles in our neighbors' drawing-rooms with the anti-slavery petitions. Here was the spot where, so many years since, we met and detected the unsubstantial nature of the phantom arguments conjured up by the opposers of woman's action in the anti-slavery cause. Without going into the general question, which a consideration of constitutional limitations has always forbidden, the same answer suffices for all objections :—" We *think* our course a right one—we *know* that it has subverted the cause."

Let us, then, having "gifts differing," and opportunities and means differing, each continue the vigorous exercise of such as fall to our lot. Some have worldly appliances and means—some mechanical skill, and a perception of the beautiful—some the command of their time—some health and strength of body—some power and vigor of mind—some "the fiery gift of tongues"—*all* the might of supplication; and grief and shame will it be to us and to our children, if we do not yield them all to the service of freedom and humanity. From the moment that the abolitionist proscribes his neighbor for the exercise of her gifts, according to her own conscience, in the anti-slavery cause, he proves conclusively that his heart has ceased to glow with the devotedness to its inter-

ests which inspired his early and tolerating efforts in its behalf. We do not blame him that his judgment differs from ours on questions of propriety. He has a right to his opinion; but he has no right to be intolerant towards us personally on account of ours.

Since so much has been said about loading the anti-slavery enterprise with "foreign topics," we, too, may be permitted to remind those who make the outcry, of the legitimate object of our anti-slavery societies, implied in their very name. They did not band themselves together for or against anarchy or gynarchy, monarchy or hierarchy, or any form of civil or religious government, but simply against slavery. It is well for us all to keep in mind that the best test of our love for the cause is, that it is strong enough to overcome all reluctance to work with those who differ on other points from ourselves. We can work for the slave with any man, who does not reject our help and hinder our efforts.

But, this short-lived opposition to the free labors of women will not long exist. It was not an honest one, but had its origin in the pretences of detected unfaithfulness. Men so suddenly and so preposterously deferential to usages will soon be silent on this head. They have submitted in silence to see "women on committees" in other enterprises, and silently they are witnessing the general progress of the age. They feel no call to

proscribe the "mixed commissions" that have erected the Bunker-Hill monument! No burst of indignation against "woman usurping authority," follows the address of a gentleman to the presiding officer of a monument-meeting at Worcester—"Madam President!" No denunciations follow the appointment of ten men and ten women as the committee of a public meeting in Newburyport. Classical and revered Cambridge nominates a *whole committee* of women on a similar occasion, and pledges its manhood to execute their mandates, declaring its "reliance on their strong arm for success," unridiculed and unrebuked.—Since men have proclaimed with pride how scarfs and handkerchiefs wave applause at whig and democratic gatherings, we feel no call to defend our interest in the anti-slavery cause from the charge of "singular and unwomanly participation in things out of our sphere." Since a Bancroft, years ago, proclaimed, what the democracy of the state sanctioned, that the principles of that party were applicable to women; since Webster has instructed the ladies of Virginia, that it is their duty to rectify the principles and keep alive the truth and honesty of the community, we "experience no inclination" to contract our sphere of usefulness, on the ground that its present enlargement will shock the prejudices of the world.

The "woman's rights question" has been raised

by our opponents—not ourselves. Vast and important as it is, there is not legitimate scope for it in societies whose point of union is, the rights of the southern slave. But, for the slave's sake, we are bound to urge on all his advocates the use of all their powers according to their own consciences ;—to proclaim, “*La carrière ouverte aux talens*,”—the tools to whosoever can use them.

An expression of thanks may be permitted us here—the thanks due to every human being who strengthens our faith by heroic endurance, who stimulates us to diligence, or shames our negligence by unremitting exertion, and whose example of calm, invincible patience, and generous hopefulness, are to us as a personal benefit. For such obligations we may pause a moment to express our gratitude to ABBY KELLEY—the devoted laborer for the cause in Massachusetts and Connecticut. While we have been sitting undisturbed by our firesides, or discharging the lighter obligations for the cause which use has made easy and agreeable, she has labored through obloquy and persecution, in those almost impracticable regions which few agents have yet ventured to visit, at inclement seasons and amid bodily fatigue, unsustained by the funds or sympathy of any anti-slavery society, (except the testimony of the women of Lynn,—her residence of many years,—to the high-toned purity and devotedness

of her nature ; and the confidence implied by the American Anti-Slavery Society at the last annual meeting.) Calling no man master, she has been by that freedom qualified for the performance of those effectual services to the cause of the slave, which the fettered hand and the shackled foot can never render. She is sure of her reward—the gratitude of the few—the malignant scorn of the many—the blessings of coming generations.

We make this public acknowledgment of our own obligations to her, not for *her* sake. Such an expression would be omitted by us, were it our object to give pleasure to her personally. But we esteem it a duty and a privilege to identify ourselves with all who are persecuted for righteousness' sake. If the noble firmness with which she has executed her arduous mission is beyond our own ability to exercise, or our grace to imitate, we will not, in the spirit of new organization, condemn the excellence we cannot attain.—We will rather say, in the words of another true-hearted and eloquent woman in our cause,—“ If we are not bold enough in the slave's cause ourselves, *we honor those most who are so.*”

The mention of new organization brings us to the consideration of the manner in which this foe should be met. It is a pro-slavery influence, and as such should be combated ; “ an evil soul producing holy witness,” and its disguises should

be stripped off; hypocritical in its pretences, and as such should be denounced; unscrupulous in its violations of truth in principles and veracity in facts, and as such should be exposed. It *is*, as the Colonization Society *was*, composed of two classes of persons—the deceivers and the deceived. We must forgive the trespasses of the former against us, and strive with unwearied effort to open the eyes of the latter. We can descend to no petty scramble with it for funds and auxiliaries; for of the enemies of the cause we only want repentance; and no true friend will long remain unsuspecting of its design—the destruction of the existing anti-slavery societies and influences, and the substitution in their stead of the *unoffending* anti-slavery which swayed New-England from the pulpit ten years since, of which it labors to preserve the supremacy.

Meanwhile, to the repentant and the undeceived, the old platform stands where it did. None can be driven from it who love the cause. Men slide away from it through indifference, or are self-excluded through treachery and intolerance. But faithful hearts are there still—instant in labor, in warning, in entreaty and rebuke; presenting neither place to ambition, nor profit to selfishness; and may God strengthen them to endure to the end.

Our cause presents two considerations to the mind; the freedom of the slave, and the elevation

of the free people of color. The first is the fundamental one, for while slavery exists, the people of color must suffer from the labors of the oppressing caste to keep them degraded. But, much may be done for the nominally free, as we go on. If we have from our more fortunate position, any advantages of mental acquirement, or cultivation and refinement of manners, let us share them with those who have been deprived of our opportunities, in the only way in which such a proffer would not be an insult—i. e. by a hearty acknowledgment of social equality. We heartily approve and co-operate with every effort for the elevation of our injured fellow-beings, wherever it is made. We sympathize with the self-denying labors of a Wilson and an Ingraham. But we need not go to Canada or Jamaica for a field for benevolent effort among the free colored people. They are among ourselves—a suffering remnant, in the grasp of a despotic people, whose hearts are hardened towards them. Let us stand between them and injury, whenever we see its ruthless hand upraised. Let us better know our vocation as abolitionists, than to consider our companions in the cause, in this city and elsewhere, as mere claimants of alms, as coveting our supercilious notice and acquaintance. It is not so. It is justice, and sympathy, and right appreciation, and deserved respect,—it is the *co-laborer's right hand* we owe them; and they will have a right to de-

spise us, if we confine our views for their elevation to feeding and clothing their hungry, or sustaining their charitable institutions. Our efforts should primarily be to raise the weight that crushes them. Are their schools the scenes of a gentle and efficient culture? (*or rather, why are any schools barred against them?*) Are the desirable lots in society theirs to bid off at will? These are the questions we should ask ourselves; and the negative answer, which the facts of the case give, should stimulate us, among other efforts, to circulate the petition for the abrogation of the present anti-christian and anti-republican marriage law, with renewed energy.

Let us go on as aforetime, shrinking from no sacrifices that freedom and humanity need. But why do we mention sacrifices? Have we ever really made one? Would not the true sacrifice have been to have renounced the life of an abolitionist, and have wrought in the world's harness, for the earthly portion which satisfieth not? In laboring for the freedom of others, have we not found an exceeding great and unlooked for reward—the additional field of usefulness to our age, given by the freedom of soul we have gained? We have, in our associated capacity, every encouragement to keep onward, with a single eye to the great national enterprise we have commenced. *We* may go out of life before its accomplishment, but we shall have made its labors

light for those who shall come after, as the labors of a preceding generation have made it discreditable for the Englishman of to-day to do otherwise than oppose West Indian slavery.

But a still more arduous enterprise now claims the attention of England. A hundred and fifty millions of people in British India, the victims of civil and domestic slavery, call for redress at her ed, will show who in England are the living apostles, and who the mere hereditary abolitionists. In this proposed work we cannot but take the deepest interest, though the field of labor is in another empire. "Our country is the world—our countrymen are all mankind!" Our sympathies have not been exhausted by exercise—they are but more universal and abundant in their flow.

To our dear and well-remembered friend, GEORGE THOMPSON, to whom we are so deeply indebted, we take this means of conveying our earnest sympathy in the enterprise of redeeming British India from oppression. No enterprise for freedom is foreign to us, and there is in Great Britain a high and pure-minded phalanx, to whom our sympathy will be none the less valuable because we are women, and who will not hypocritically solicit of women that aid, which, unless it were *slavishly* yielded, they would scornfully reject.

A new year of labor is opening before us. If we are not wanting to our cause, it will be a year

of success. Freedom makes her friends clear and comprehensive in vision,—resolute and ready in execution,—self-denying and courageous in conduct,—faithful and true to each other ; and these are the elements of success—the assurance that our prayers for the extinction of slavery will be heard.

APPENDIX.

LETTERS.

Among the extracts from letters read at the annual meeting of the Boston Female Society, are the following, from HARRIET MARTINEAU and ANNE KNIGHT. The cheerfulness of one, and the deep feeling of the other, express so well the anti-slavery mind, according as its mood is grave or gay, that the society asked their publication.

“ TYNEMOUTH, Northumberland.

———Living or dying, I shall be in spirit with you and your cause. If I can do any thing, however little, for it, while I have life, it shall be done.

* * * * *

Garrison was quite right, I think, to sit in the gallery at the Convention. I conclude you think so. It has done much, I am persuaded. You will live to see a great enlargement of our scope of usefulness, I trust, but what with the vices of some women and the fears of others, it will be hard work to assert our liberty. I will, however, till I die, and so will you ; and so make it easier for some few to follow.

* * * * *

The information brought out at the Convention, will do good, I have no doubt. But the knowledge we have obtained of the obvious deficiencies of the members, in the very principles they came to advocate, will surely do more.

I send £2, which I have got by my needle for your society—being fond of fancy work, and fit for it in this my inva-

lid state. I feel in my soul the honor of the appointment of delegate. You know that I could not have discharged its duties, even if the others had been admitted. But I beg to assure my constituents, that there is in me no lack of willingness to serve our cause in any capacity.

Your faithful and affectionate

H. MARTINEAU."

8th MONTH 4, 1840.

* * * * * Indeed, I am surprised at the readiness of the bigoted to yield to the honest, unflinching assertions of truth; it being, they allow, a question of *men's* rather than of women's rights,—the placing at his side, in important scenes of life, his better and wiser half—the being whose clearer and diviner instincts would enlighten, ennoble and sanctify his counsels, and hasten, with the help of Divine Providence, the renovation of our world.

At the Freemason's Tavern, the clamor against the question grew less and less, and the advocacy louder; there were many, I believe, ashamed of the part they took. I believe they cannot deny the equality of talent as well as worth of their wives, sisters and daughters. These ideas, discussed often among us, are helping the cause. We tell our opponents, in the beginning, that they must take off their grandmother's night caps, and throw them to the "things that love night;" they good naturedly comply, and entertain the subject with a smile. We tell them we are not the same beings as fifty years ago; no longer "sit by the fire and spin," or distil rosemary and lavender for poor neighbors; but appoint visiting committees for them, and sit in Mission and Bible Societies reporting to the men; sitting in their public meetings, and uniting with them in association committees. Then comes the great and mortal conflict. The dreadful monster *slavery* must be grappled with; and who is sent out to do it? Not man—not the stronger vessel—with his nervous and brawny arm, his stentorian voice, the fierceness of his black beard and mustachios, and his "eye like Mars, to threaten and command." What! not the "sons of Thunder Boanergean"—not they? Who, then? Some fierce dagon more horrible still? No! guess again! Ceberus? No! weak, tender, untrained for the work—modest woman! And when she appeals to the men against such unheard of folly and atrocity to the weaker vessel,

James Cropper has said, "It is no use talking, Anne ; the men are gone to sleep, and it is impossible to rouse them ; you must go forth." At another time and place, to the same appeal, THOMAS CLARKSON, our veteran hero, made the same reply. He did, indeed, my dear friends, and thus having been driven into the fore-front of the battle—having, in the labor of collecting and going from house to house for signatures to petitions, had to fight with beasts at Ephesus, who can any longer, in this blaze of our superior experience, dazzling the twilight ken of their sheltering care, dare to omit our names in the muster-roll for the council board ? We have a far superior claim to the men,—the claim of our ensanguined battle-field,—the claim of our trophies, our captives ; and can they much longer dare to hold up the puny cry of *custom* and dread of ridicule, in their confused jargon and strife of tongues—their darkening of counsel by words without knowledge—while the veterans sit without, in silent contempt of their rhodomontade ? Surely, the folly is hastening to an end ; it cannot withstand the light of truth. Tacitus relates that the Germans always called the women to their war-counsels, because they had something divine in them ; and do not your Indians have their conferences unitedly ? The scientific Congresses of France are composed of men and women,—myself being a member, and having addressed them, *a Leige aux Blois*, on the subject of slavery. Our own society invites its men and women in mission and conference ; and if we may handle the holy things, is it for our sect, to raise its voice opposing our secular and moral engagements ? Forbid it, common sense, and thou, my dear friend, cease not to cry aloud and lift up thy voice like a trumpet ; for surely, if Indian women, if German women, if the women of France may hold colloquy with men, the women of England, not less Christian, and not less qualified than they, must, ere long, "what is dark illumine." May the emphatic question be sent across the Atlantic by some strong pen to our exclusives in Broad street—a most inappropriate name ; it ought to be the street which is called *strait*. I wish it were practicable that, continuing the subject now begun, the cause of humanity might be extended, so that by the time of a *second* Convention, it would be more deserving the name of a *World's* Convention.

Thy very sincere friend,
ANNE KNIGHT."

TREASURER'S ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.

The receipts of the Society since April last are \$720, (\$500 of which were to sustain the National Anti-Slavery Standard,) as follows :

April—1840. Mrs. Sarah Johnson, annual sub. 50c; Sarah Ann Ball 50c; Anna Snowden 50c; Mary A. Johnson 50c; Clarissa Lawrence 50c; Ruth Copeland \$1 50; Harriet Jackson 50c; Sarah B. Brown 50c; Catharine Sargent 50c; Henrietta Sargent 50c; Ruth Soley 50c; Frances Clapp 50c; Caroline F Williams 50c; Mrs. Henshaw 50c; Sarah Ann Brewer 50c.

May—Ann Reed 50; Mary H. Jackson 50; Sarah Johnson 50c; Anna Cotton, life member, \$5; Mrs. Sarah Carter, Northampton, L. M. \$5; Lydia Dean, L. M. 5 00; Mrs. Philbrick 10 00; Elizabeth Copeland 50c.

June—Ruth Copeland 50c; Catharine Nichols 1 00; Mary S. Himes L. M. 5; Anna Gardner, Nantucket L. M. 5 00; Charlotte Austin do L. M. 5 00; Maria W. Chapman 13 25; Eliza Lee Follen 2 00; Harriet Bixby, Wrentham 5 00; Anna W. Weston 5 00. H. C. Fifield, Weymouth, L. M. 5 00; Eliza F. Meriam 5 00; Henrietta Sargent 5 00; Louisa Sewall 5 00; Mary Young 5 00; Mary Stetson, Charlestown, L. M. 5 00; Catharine Stetson do. L. M. 5 00; Louisa Loring 15 00; Hannah Robie 5 00; Thankful Southwick 15 00; Mary G. Chapman 10 00; Mrs. Oliver Johnson, L. M. 5 00; Mrs. Fisher 3 00; Miss Peterson 5 00; Miss McIntosh 5 00; Mrs. H. Chapman 10 00; Anna Mann 1 00; Miss Allen 1 50; Mrs. Spear, Roxbury, 1 00; Polly I. Emerson 2 00; Mrs. Lucy Bird 1 00; Miss Catharine Parcher 1 00; Sarah F. Stearns 1 00; Mrs. Amasa Walker 5 00; Mrs. F. M. Robbins 2 50; Mrs. Clarissa Jackson 1 00; Miss H. Sargent 5 00; M. G. Chapman 1 00; Mrs. Scarlett 1 00; Miss Lang 1 00; Mary Hutchinson 1 00; Mrs. Jarvis 50c; E. S. Gray 50c; Mary Parker 50c; Submit Stothill 1 00; Miss Wiley 50c; a friend 1 00; Mrs. Johnson 25c; Mrs. H. G. Chapman 25; Henrietta Sargent 25; Miss Stetson 25; Miss Carter 50; E. F. Meriam 25; Mrs. Folsom 25; Mrs. Tyler 50; Mrs. Hartford 25; Mrs. Morton 50; Mary G. Chapman 25; Margaret Fields 50.

ELIZA F. MERIAM, *Treas.*

Boston, Oct. 14, 1840.

